1: Jenness--238 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 515

"The social morality of the Copper Eskimos takes no account of personal cleanliness. I have already mentioned their uncleanliness in the matter of food. Normally the natives never wash, nor have they any equivalent for soap. In the winter, indeed, they have no means of washing, for their blubber lamps melt no more water than is required for drinking purposes. They sometimes rub oil on their faces in spring, but rather for its soothing effect on their sunburnt skins than for any other reason. The children enjoy bathing, however, during the two short months that bathing is possible in this climate, and they seemed to like washing with soap and water at our station. They clean the nits from each other's head and eat them, and swallow the mucus from the nose. Yet these same people were horrified to see a white man swallow phlegm, and it must be admitted that they are far less infested with vermin than the Indians or the Eskimos of the Mackenzie river and of North Alaska. Moreover, however they may treat their bodies, they are very careful to keep their clothing scrupulously clean and free from all stains and grease spots, with the exception of course of their ordinary working garments."

2: Stefansson--126 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 302, 515

"The hair is probably never washed. The women occasionally wash their faces by spitting into the palm of the hand and then rubbing the face. As they have no mirrors they sometimes forget to clean one part or another of their faces, which gives them a rather unusual appearance. This washing is most likely to take place on the arrival of visitors from a distance, and usually is performed in their presence."

2: Stefansson--226-227 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
515, 264, 117

"May 3. Eskimo Cleanliness. Certain remarks and deeds of Pannigabluk's today prompt me to enter certain things about Eskimo cleanliness, etc. Pan. will clean dog excrementoff a sole of a pair of boots with her ulu, wipe it casually with a rag that may have had as bad uses a dozen times before, and then proceed to eat with the ulu or cut up with it food for cooking. She will not use the same spoon twice in a half hour to stir her own tea without wiping it between times with the same rag, if it so falls, with which she has just wiped the ulu. Most of the Eskimo I know will pick up and eat without concern a piece of blubber, cooked meat, raw meat, fish etc., that falls on the floor, no matter in what state the floor is,but most of them would throw away a piece of bread that dropped in the same way. I noticed this especially in Roxy's house. He has been with the police a great deal, and seen them throw away such pieces; naturally, they less often would drop meat, etc., than bread, besides meats are native foods and the [227] customs with regard to them are of long standing. In times of scarcity they will eat their own foods to the last scrap and take pride always in a clean picked bone, but I never saw a bacon rind eaten, nor even shaved close in time of necessity. E.g., I gave bacon to Kunaluk's starving family last spring, he threw away nearly a fourth of the bacon with the rind.

Most Eskimo wash religiously every morning. Usually, they soap profusely and leave it unrinsed on the face. Few of them seem to care if the water is dirty. In

Ovayuak's house up to twenty would wash from the same water or until the dish was empty. Then the towel passes around, the same for months, and occasionally a nose blown into it incidentally.

On my telling Pan. one day that certain water was dirty she said that was no matter, she was just going to wash the teapot inside with it. I am considered a sort of renegade because I insist on the teapots and my own cup remaining unwashed. I have often heard my natives tell strangers that with many good qualities I have the failing, differing thus from most white men, of caring little for cleanliness in my food utensils. That I prefer manifestly dirty dishes to apparently clean ones in an Eskimo house, is considered a curious eccentricity; some seem to think it is 'put on'.

Pan. will sometimes wash a pot thoroughly with an ancient dish rag and then use the water to make soup. She will hook with the dirtiest finger to the bottom of a cup of tea or water to get a deer hair, of which she conceived me, in common with 'all' white men to be in horror, in spite of my protests that I rather am fond of hair in my food. I have known no Eskimo to contract the white man's horror of hairs in food. As with us, white cloth garments must be washed, a dark one may be as dirty as it will."

2: Stefansson--232 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
515, 117

"Both sexes use the hair frequently for toothpicks, in manner of 'tooth-silk'. This I have never seen before."

2: Stefansson--241-242 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
515, 117

"Habits of Cleanliness. Measuring their heads, I saw neither lice not [sic] nit, though this gave me a good chance to see any there were. I do not think them quite free, however, as I saw one or two women feeling for some such thing inside their coats. They were never successful in their search, [242] which bad luck seldom attends a similar quest in the Mackenzie. They probably never wash but I know from experience one gets no dirtier after the first few days."

7: Jenness--B39 (1914-16) 1923 Copper Eskimo
116, 142, 515

"The general appearance of these Eskimos varies a great deal according to the season of the year. In summer, when they wear their oldest clothes and wander day after day over dusty plains or muddy swamps, their faces become encrusted with a constant layer of dirt. Washing is unknown, and while a party occasionally bathes in a stream or lake on a very hot day, these occasions are few and far between. The skin, too, becomes very much tanned at this season, so that altogether the appearance of the natives is not prepossessing. But in winter, when they wear new fur clothing, and contact with the snow removes the dirt from their faces at the same time as the tan disappears, their appearance is so changed that one could almost imagine them a different people."

7: Jenness--40B (1914-16) 1923 Copper Eskimo
116, 515, 302

"Most women possess combs, but only the younger ones make much use of them, and even they often use their fingers. In both men and women the hair swarms with nits; it is an office of friendship to search a neighbour's head, incidentally popping the trophies into the mouth."

12: Collinson--285 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 142, 515, 177, 562

"The aquiline nose and Jewish cast of countenance noticed last year was not observed this; but their features resemble the general characteristics of their race, viz., broad forehead, small eyes and flat profile, chin tapering to a point, hair coarse and black, no whiskers and but little on the upper lip or chin. The women are slightly tattooed, low of stature (one a mother being but 4 feet 3 inches high); when young not devoid of some beauty, but this, as is usual among natives where the female sex are looked upon as drudges, soon passes off; and to this I attribute in some measure the ill-success our looking-glasses had in the market. One great advantage they possessed over their brethren to the westward in our eyes, was the absence of vermin on their persons."

223 They skinned birds in exactly the same way as small animals, except that
237 they tore the skin of a small bird down the legs without cutting it, and, when
825 drawing the skin over the head, held the feet in the teeth instead of tying them
136 to a tent-pole or other convenient object. Loon skins made excellent whisks for beating off the mosquitoes. The bill of the largest species of loon, *Gavia stellata*, was frequently sewn to the top of the dancing cap; and the feet skins [301] of swans, geese, and ducks converted into tinder bags. Every household had its [415] stock of ptarmigan skins for use as dusters, and to wipe the hands and face after [515] eating or handling blubber; one skin served the whole family and all its visitors until every feather was worn out. The Eskimo used other bird skins for the [262] same purpose, especially sea-gull skins, the oily feathers being naturally more [294] suitable for towels than ptarmigan feathers. The skins of fish were usually eaten. The Copper Eskimo, unlike others of their race, never made any real clothing from fish or bird-skins, although sometimes they stuffed a few feathers or the skin of a loon inside their sealskin shoes.

29: Jenness. E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
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beneath the snow-floor, making the prohibition technically invalid. We cooked our caribou meat with easy consciences, and, when the natives upbraided us, pointed to a tiny patch of gravel exposed beneath our feet. Some accepted our verdict, most of them still disapproved; but by that time they were better acquainted with the strange ways of the white man, and believed that we could do with impunity what they could not attempt without disaster.

The village dance-house formed as usual the forecourt of two snow-huts, which kept it at an even temperature with their two large blubber-lamps. One hut was occupied by Ikpuckhuak, the elderly man who had come to my rescue when his fellow-tribesman tried to carry off my knife. Ikpuckhuak means the "Dirty One"; but the name in no wise reflected on his personal characteristics, for the Eskimos were too familiar with the lack of water during seven months of the year to pay much attention to some of its consequences. Ikpuck, as I shall call him hereafter, was actually cleaner than most of his countrymen, provided one gives the word a rather broad interpretation; and his name was no more than an ancient family title which he inherited in childhood along with his other privileges.

We spent several pleasant evenings on his sleeping-platform, reclining comfortably on caribou robes and listening to the natives in the forecourt singing their

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almost devoid of vegetation. We stumbled over a bed of dolomite split by frost into rectangular blocks, its resemblance to the floor of an ancient temple heightened by two stone pillars erected several years before to support a kayak or hunting canoe. A mile or two beyond a caribou caught our scent, whisked up its tail, and bounded out of sight behind a low ridge. We could see a fair-sized stream in the distance tumbling among the rocks; and there Ikpuck instructed us to camp while he pursued the caribou that had just disappeared. Twelve hours later, when every one was asleep, he returned, and, pushing open the door of my tent, displayed the skins of two caribou; their carcasses he had left side by side for the women to bring in, merely aligning some boulders on top of a knoll to guide them in their search. Icehouse and Jennie dressed and departed immediately with dogs and packlines. The howling of the other dogs aroused the camp, and a second party went out to look for more caribou. So, for one reason and another, we lingered in this spot nearly three days.

Instead of hunting during this interval, I made a collection of all the plants growing around us, and enjoyed two swims in a neighbouring pool. A bath is a rare luxury in the Arctic, where there is often no water to wash even the face and hands. My companions solved the problem by never washing. Contact with the snow in winter purified them, and in

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summer the deep tanning of their skin masked its uncleanliness. It was easy to discover one reason for the peculiar atmosphere of an Eskimo throng. The odour was really a composite one, the smell of fur clothing mingling with the distinctively human odour that characterizes all races, but differs in each one. Neither Eskimo society nor our own ever discusses this topic, although Icehouse once confessed to me in private that her people had found the odour of the white man very disagreeable. However that may be, my bathing, being purely voluntary, certainly excited much interest, and when I stole away to the pool for the second bath, Ikpuck notified the whole party. Innocently devoid of clothes, I was disporting gaily in the water when the sound of voices made me look up. Men, women, and children lined the bank above me, intently watching the exhibition. None of them knew how to swim, or even that it was possible, and they gasped with admiration when I dived out of sight and reappeared a few yards away. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.* Ikpuck, The Runner, and even the latter's wife stripped off their clothes immediately and joined me in the water, eager to receive a first lesson in the newly discovered art.

We were now so close to our caches on the coast that my companions decided to deposit there, before turning westward, the small quantity of dried fish they were carrying against emergencies. The visit enabled

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face besmirched with blood and blubber from the tit-bits she slipped into her mouth, made a somewhat unattractive picture to our European eyes, though the Eskimos thought it charmingly homelike. But as soon as she finished her task she washed with snow, dried her face and hands with a ptarmigan skin, braided her hair, and changed into a neat suit of brown caribou fur adorned with red and white insertion. In this new setting she shone with quite a different radiance; for her face, though almost circular, was so regular, and her complexion so fresh and clear, that even the blue tattoo lines with which all the Eskimo women in this country marred their faces only added piquancy to her charms. If Girling had consented to carry out his missionary duties we would certainly have christened her the "Boreal Venus."

These natives had been in close contact with Anderson's party during the summer and regarded all white men with the greatest respect. When they learned that we intended to stay with them for a few days they renovated an empty hut for our use and equipped it with a stone lamp, which the women supplied with oil and tended night and morning. They, too, like the people we had just left, had suffered from starvation for several weeks; but now their hunters were killing more seals, and as the days lengthened they looked confidently forward to a season of plenty. Their leader and his wife almost embarrassed us with hospitality.